

Logophoric Pronouns in Amdo Tibetan

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1. Aims of this paper

In Amdo Tibetan, special pronominal forms (logophoric pronouns; glossed as LOG) are sometimes used in reported speech. These logophoric pronouns (*k^{ho}*, *mo*, and *k^{hoŋ}*) are morphologically different from the first person personal pronoun (*ŋa*) and the third person personal pronoun (masculine *k^{hə}(r)ga* / feminine *mə(r)ga*).

- (1) sonam_i=ki [k^{ho}_i ta joŋ=dzi] =zi ʕet=tsək.
PSN=ERG LOG now come=AUX:EGO =COMP speak=AUX
“Sonam said that he (=Sonam) would come now.”¹

This pronoun (*k^{ho}*) is used to indicate reference to the person whose speech is reported. In previous studies, Hua & Lon (1993: 61-62) described this morpheme (*k^{ho}*) as “‘I’ in third person’s reported speech (「引第三人称說話中的“我”」),” Zhou (2003: 415-464) glossed it as ‘I (「我」)’ or ‘he (「他」),’ and Haller (2004: 259) indexed it as ‘he (logophoric)’ (er (logophorisch)). I will identify *k^{ho}* as a logophoric pronoun, in the same way as Haller (2004).

One aim of this paper is to provide a systematic description of the logophoric system of Amdo Tibetan. A second is to show the characteristics of logophoric pronouns in Amdo Tibetan by comparing them with the general usage of logophoric pronouns cross-linguistically.

2. Background of the discussion

2.1 Geographic, genetic, and typological profile of Amdo Tibetan

Amdo Tibetan² is spoken in Qinghai Province, the southern part of Gansu Province,

¹ The consultants explained the logophoric pronoun *k^{ho}* as ‘I’ in quotations, but here I translated the pronoun as ‘he’ because this sentence is not direct speech.

² The Tibetan languages in China are traditionally divided into three: Ü-tsan (Central Tibet), Kham Tibetan (East Tibet), and Amdo Tibetan (North-East Tibet).

and the northern part of Sichuan Province. Genealogically, all the Tibetan languages including Amdo Tibetan belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. Here we focus on the variety of Amdo Tibetan spoken in Gonghe county of Qinghai province.



Map 1: Qinghai Province and its vicinity (The black area is Gonghe County; TAR stands for ‘Tibetan Autonomous Region’)

As is the case with the other Tibetan languages, the word order is SV in intransitive clauses and AOV in transitive clauses. In nominal clauses, adjectives are placed after nouns.

This language is agglutinative in that phrases can be constructed with several clitics and affixes. The case marking pattern is Ergative-Absolutive. Verbs do not show person, number, or gender agreement. Some verbs inflect for tense/aspect and mood (perfective, imperfective, imperative). Many verbs do not have any inflection. Instead, auxiliary verbs and sentence-final particles are used for expressing tense, aspect, modality, or evidentiality.

As for voice-related phenomena, this language has causative expressions but has no grammatical expressions of the passive or anti-passive. Furthermore there are morpho-phonological pairs of intransitive-transitive verbs (such as *hkor* ‘make it turn’ and *k^hor* ‘turn’). As with the other Tibetan languages, this language has a system of expressing the speaker’s point of view: egophoric/non-egophoric patterns (see 4.4).

2.2 Data included in this paper

The Amdo Tibetan data included in this paper are from the notes of my fieldwork with several Amdo Tibetan speakers living in Chapcha (the center of Gonghe County), Gonghe County, Qinghai Province (see Map 1). I collected the data from a monologue

and from elicitations. The monologue is told by Mrs. Droma (*sGrol ma*³, 1970-), who was born and grew up in the village of Tsherang dawa, near Chapcha. Her monologue is a folktale lasting only three minutes (titled “*Little Frog as God’s Son*,” see Ebihara 2009), but many logophoric pronouns occur in the story. I elicited some sentences from Mrs. Droma and Mr. Xahten Tsherang (*dPal brtan Tshe ring*, 1976-). Mr. Xahten Tsherang is from Yongrong village near Chapcha. I asked Mrs. Khamohci (*mKha’ mo skyid*, 1979-) about the grammaticality and meaning of certain sentences. She is from Guide County (located to the south of Gonghe County).

3. What is logophoricity?

The term “logophoric” was first introduced by Hagège (1974) to refer to pronominal forms found in West African languages (Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, and some Afro-Asian languages). In Ewe (a language of Niger-Congo), for example, logophoric pronouns are distinct from personal and reflexive pronouns and are “used exclusively to designate the individual (other than the speaker) whose speech, thoughts, feelings, or general state of consciousness are reported or reflected in the linguistic context in which the pronoun occurs” (Clements 1975: 141).

Examples from Ewe

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------|----|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| (2) | a. | Kofi | be | yè-dzo | “Kofi said that he (Kofi) left.” |
| | | | | say LOG-leave | |
| | b. | Kofi | be | me-dzo | “Kofi said that I left.” |
| | c. | Kofi | be | e-dzo | “Kofi said that he/she (≠Kofi) left.” |
- (Clements 1975: 142)

Hyman & Comrie (1981) shows three hierarchies relevant to logophoric pronouns, as follows.

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|---|--|
| (3) a grammatical hierarchy: | subject | > | non-subject (object, possessive, etc.) |
| (4) a person hierarchy: | third person | > | second person > first person |
| (5) a number hierarchy: | singular | > | plural |
- (Hyman & Comrie 1981: 33)

³ Italics indicate the Wylie transcription of written Tibetan.

4. Logophoric pronouns in Amdo Tibetan

4.1 Kinds of logophoric pronouns and their origins

In Amdo Tibetan there are three kinds logophoric pronouns: *k^{ho}*, *mo*, and *k^{hoŋ}*. These pronouns appear in reported speech and show co-reference with the third person original speaker of the reported speech. *K^{ho}* is the masculine form, *mo* the feminine, and *k^{hoŋ}* the familial plural (which can be translated as ‘his/her family’).

- (6) ta [mo ɛira jə=a mə-ndzo. ndi=ki k^{hoŋ}=ki
 then LOG back house=DAT NEG-go:IPFV DEM=ERG LOG=GEN
 gepo bawa mən. tə=ki gonmo=ta bawa=ki kondzə
 husband frog COP:NEG DEM=ERG night=PP frog=GEN clothes
 hət=taŋ=na ta ŋə=zək jən] tə=ki ze=nəre=ja.
 take.off=AUX=CONJ then human=INDF COP DEM=ERG say=AUX=SFP
 “Then ‘She will not return home. Her husband (=the husband in her family) is not
 a frog. [He] is a man at night after taking off the clothes’ [the princess] said like
 that.”

(from “*Little Frog as God’s Son*,” Ebihara 2009)

The origins of these logophoric pronouns, *k^{ho}*, *mo*, and *k^{hoŋ}*, can be estimated to be the non-logophoric personal pronouns in written Tibetan: *k^{ho}* for ‘he,’ *mo* for ‘she,’ and *k^{hoŋ}* for ‘he’ (honorific). Mrs. Droma said that in Amdo Tibetan, *k^{hoŋ}* is used as an honorific third person pronoun in the non-logophoric domain. On the other hand, *k^{ho}* and *mo* are not usually used in non-logophoric expressions in Amdo Tibetan. If these pronouns are used non-logophorically, the utterance sounds like a literary expression.

4.2 Grammatical functions of logophoric pronouns

Logophoric pronouns can appear as subjects (as in (1)), objects (as in (7) and (8)), or possessives (as in (9)).

- (7) ts^heraŋ_i=ki [sonam=ki k^{ho}_i htəer=zək] =zi ɕet=tsək.
 PSN=ERG PSN=ERG LOG hit=AUX =COMP speak=AUX
 “Tsherang said that Sonam hit him (=Tsherang).”
- (8) ts^heraŋ_i=ki [sonam=ki k^{ho}_i=a xite^ha ɕən=zək] =zi ɕet=tsək.
 PSN=ERG PSN=ERG LOG=DAT book give:PFV=AUX =COMP speak=AUX
 “Tsherang said that Sonam gave him (=Tsherang) a book.”

- (9) ts^heraŋ_i=ki [k^hi_i k^həma or=s^hoŋ=zək] =zi ɕet=tsək.
 PSN=ERG LOG:GEN wallet lose=AUX=AUX =COMP speak=AUX
 “Tsherang said that his (Tsherang’s) wallet was lost.”

4.3 Obligatoriness

Culy (2002: 201) states, “[i]n general, the use of a logophoric pronoun is obligatory in indirect discourse when reference to the person whose discourse is being reported is intended.” Amdo Tibetan goes against this generalization, as logophoric pronouns are not obligatory in reported speech; rather the first/third person personal pronoun can be used, too. The following three examples express approximately the same content. Example (10-b) is an example of direct speech; (10-a) and (10-c) are examples of what is called “indirect speech.”⁴ One of the consultants (Mrs. Khamohci) said (10-c) is the expression used when ‘he’ is emphasized.

- (10) a. sonam_i=ki [k^ho_i ta joŋ=dzi] =zi ɕet=tsək.
 PSN=ERG LOG now come=AUX:EGO =COMP speak=AUX
 “Sonam said that he (=Sonam) will come now.”
 b. sonam_i=ki [ŋa_i ta joŋ=dzi] =zi ɕet=tsək.
 PSN=ERG 1SG now come=AUX:EGO =COMP speak=AUX
 “Sonam said, ‘I (=Sonam) will come now.’”
 c. sonam_i=ki [k^həga_i ta joŋ=dzi] =zi ɕet=tsək.
 PSN=ERG 3SG now come=AUX:EGO =COMP speak=AUX
 “Sonam said that he (=Sonam) would come now.”
 (Intended meaning: not the other person, but ‘he (=Sonam)’ will come.)

However, the situation is different in the case of possession. In the case of possession, the references of the first/third person personal pronoun are different between consultants. In some cases, a given consultant interpreted the same sentence differently. In the following examples, *k^hi*, *ŋi*, and *k^hərgi* are genitive forms of *k^ho*, *ŋa*, and *k^hə(r)ga*, respectively.

- (11) a. sonam_i=ki [k^hi_i k^həma or=s^hoŋ=zək] =zi ɕet=tsək.
 PSN=ERG LOG:GEN wallet lose=AUX=AUX =COMP speak=AUX
 “Sonam said that his (=Sonam’s) wallet was lost.”

⁴ “Semi-direct” would be more appropriate.

- b. sonam_i=ki [ŋi_i or r k^həma or=s^hoŋ=zək] =zi ɕet=tsək.
 PSN=ERG 1SG:GEN wallet lose=AUX=AUX =COMP speak=AUX
 “Sonam said, ‘my (=Sonam’s) wallet is lost.’” (Mrs. *Droma*)
 “Sonam said that my (=the reporter’s) wallet was lost.”
 (Mr. Xahten Tsherang and Mrs. Khamohci)
- c. sonam_i=ki [k^hərgi_i or j k^həma or=s^hoŋ=zək] =zi ɕet=tsək.
 PSN=ERG 3SG:GEN wallet lose=AUX=AUX =COMP speak=AUX
 “Sonam said that his (=Sonam’s) wallet was lost.”
 (Mr. Xahten Tsherang and Mrs. Khamohci)
 “Sonam said that his (≠Sonam’s, ≠the reporter’s) wallet was lost.”
 (Mrs. *Droma* and Mr. Xahten Tsherang)

As shown in (11-a)-(11-c), the logophoric pronoun is co-referenced with the original speaker, but the referents of the first/third person personal pronouns differ across consultants. Thus, it seems that the logophoric pronoun is used to reduce ambiguity of the referents of arguments in reported speech.

As noted in 2.1, there is a system of expressing the speaker’s point of view in Amdo Tibetan; copular verbs, as well as some auxiliary verbs, show contrasting egophoric/non-egophoric patterns. Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003: 490) state,

‘[t]he egophoric mood translates a personal knowledge on the part of the speaker, or else an intention on his or her part that is often directly implied in the event that he or she is describing. Egophoric auxiliaries are therefore always associated with an “I” (whether explicit or implicit) in the statement, whatever the function of that “I” may be (subject, object, indirect object or complement)’

In examples (10-a)-(10-c), the egophoric auxiliary verb =*dzi* (‘future’) is used. =*dzi* in these three examples indicates the point of view of the original speaker of the reported speech (=Sonam). If =*dzi* in (10-c) is changed into the non-egophoric form, =*dzire*, as in (12), the third person personal pronoun (singular) *k^həga* does not indicate the original speaker of the reported speech (=Sonam) or the reporter, but refers to another person.

- (12) sonam_i=ki [k^həga_j ta joŋ=dzire] =zi ɕet=tsək.
 PSN=ERG 3SG now come=AUX:NEGO =COMP speak=AUX
 “Sonam said that he (≠Sonam, ≠the reporter) would come now.”

From these examples, we can see that auxiliary verbs in reported speech reflect the point of view of the original speaker. In reported speech, the egophoric form tends to be used to indicate that the subject of the predicate is the original speaker himself, and the non-egophoric form tends to be used to indicate that another person than the subject is the original speaker.

5 Conclusions and further study

This paper is the first attempt to provide a systematic description of logophoric pronouns in Amdo Tibetan. As far as I know, logophoric pronouns have not been described in other Tibetan languages so far.⁵ Logophoric pronouns in Amdo Tibetan are found only in the third person and can appear as subjects, objects, or possessives (examples (1), (7), (8), and (9)).

The logophoric pronouns of Amdo Tibetan are not obligatory in reported speech, unlike logophoric pronouns in many other languages. Even in reported speech, the first/third person personal pronoun can appear, but the referents of these pronouns are not necessarily the original speaker, and they differ across consultants ((11-b) and (11-c)). On the other hand, logophoric pronouns are used to reduce ambiguity of their referent ((11-a)). It is also a characteristic of Amdo Tibetan that the point-of-view system (egophoric/non-egophoric) is crucial to disambiguate the referent of the third person personal pronoun ((10-c) and (12)).

In this paper, only examples of the speech verb ‘say’ (*zi*) are shown, but the logophoric pronouns might be allowed in wider domains (such as in subordinate clauses of thought, non-factive, perception, knowledge, or direct perception verbs). Providing a more detailed description of the domains in which Amdo Tibetan logophoric pronouns can appear and the developments they have undergone are some remaining avenues for further study.

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⁵ However, Shirai (2007: 130) described the logophoric pronoun in nDrapa (a Qiangic language of the Tibeto-Burman family).

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Abbreviations

-	Affix boundary	COP	Copula
=	Clitic boundary	DAT	Dative
1	First person	DEM	Demonstrative
3	Third person	EGO	Egophoric
AUX	Auxiliary verb	ERG	Ergative
COMP	Complementizer	GEN	Genitive

INDF	Indefinite marker	PP	Pragmatic particle
IPFV	Imperfective	PSN	Person name
LOG	Logophoric pronoun	SFP	Sentence-final particle
NEG	Negative	SG	Singular
PFV	Perfective		

Phonemes

The Amdo Tibetan which is mentioned here has thirty-eight consonants and seven vowels.

Table 1 Consonants

	bilabial/ labiodental	alveolar	retroflex	alveolo-palatal	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stop	p[p] p ^h [p ^h] b[b ^h]	t[t] t ^h [t ^h] d[d ^h]	ʈ[ʈ] ʈ ^h [ʈ ^h] ɖ[ɖ ^h]			k[k] k ^h [k ^h] g[g ^h]		
affricate		ts[ts] ts ^h [ts ^h] dz[dz ^h]		tɕ[tɕ] tɕ ^h [tɕ ^h] dʒ[dʒ ^h]				
fricative	f[f]	ʃ[ʃ] s[s] s ^h [s ^h] z[z ^h]	ʂ[ʂ]	ɕ[ɕ] z[z ^h]	ç[ç]		x[x]/[x ^w] χ[χ ^h]/[χ ^w]	h[h]
nasal	m[m]	n[n]		ɳ[ɳ]		ŋ[ŋ]		
liquid		l[l] r[r ^ɔ]						
semi-vowel	w[w]					j[j]		

There are seven vowels.

/i/ [i] /y/ [y] /u/ [uβ]~[uu]
 /e/ [ɛ] /ə/ [ə] /o/ [o]
 /a/ [ʌ]

アムド・チベット語のロゴフォリックな代名詞

海老原 志穂

アムド・チベット語では、間接話法中で発話者（または発話者を含む集団）を指示する特別な代名詞があり、それらはロゴフォリックな代名詞 (logophoric pronoun, グロスでは LOG) と呼ばれる (例 (1))。

- (1) sonam_i=ki [kʰo_i ta jon=dzi] =zi ʕet=tsək.
ソナム=ERG LOG 今 来る=AUX:EGO=と 言う=AUX
直訳:「ソナム_i が、[自分_i は今来る]と言った」
意訳:「ソナム_i が、[自分_i は今 (聞き手の方に) 行く]と言った」

ロゴフォリックな代名詞は kʰo (男性形単数), mo (女性形単数), kʰon (複数形) という形で現れ, 1 人称代名詞 (単数) の ŋa「私」や, 3 人称代名詞 (単数) の kʰə(r)ga「彼」, mə(r)ga「彼女」とは異なる。本稿の第 1 の目的は, これまで体系的には記述されてこなかったアムド・チベット語におけるロゴフォリックな代名詞の使用の全体像を明らかにすることである。さらに, 通言語的な特徴と比べることで, アムド・チベット語のロゴフォリックな代名詞にみられる特徴の位置づけを行う。